Workers of the World, United!

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Defending Living Standards In Boom and Bust

By Art Preis

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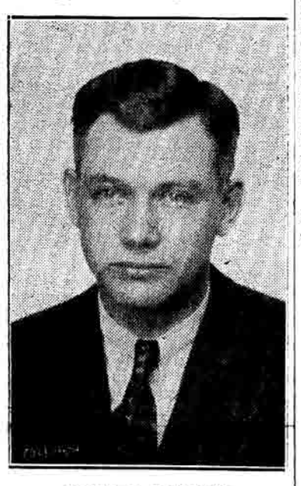
Ban All Restrictions on Right To Strike, SWP Tells Senate

George Novack Starts on Tour For Jim Kutcher

NEW YORK, Feb. 23 — George Novack, National Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, will make a six-week speaking and organization tour to mobilize support in defense of the legless veteran James Kutcher, the Committee announced today. Novack's tour, which starts Friday, March 4, in Pittsburgh, will take him as far west as Minnesota and will cover most of the big industrial cities of the midwest.

"By means of this tour," said Mr. Novack, "we hope to forward the work of our local committees which are already actively organizing public support in their areas for the legless veteran and to help form committees where they do not exist.

"I plan to address many kinds of organizations in order to acquaint wider sections of public opinion not only about the injustice against the legless veteran but about the great threat to civil liberties bound up with his persecution. I am confident that when they learn the facts in this case many more people will join the fight we are making."



GEORGE NOVACK

A LONG RECORD

Over the past twenty years Mr. Novack has participated in many of the outstanding struggles in defense of civil liberties and labor rights in the United States. He was active in the defense of Mooney and Billings, the Scottsboro boys, the Harlan miners and the union organizers tried for "criminal syndicalism" in the Imperial Valley of California.

He was instrumental in organizing the campaign to expose the frameups against the Old Bolsheviks and Leon Trotsky in Stalin's infamous Moscow Trials through the International Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey. He served as secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee which directed the defense in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

Following is the schedule for the first five weeks of Mr. Novack's tour:

Pittsburgh, March 4 through 6
Youngstown, March 8-9
Akron, March 10-11
Cleveland, March 12 through 15
Toledo, March 16-17
Detroit, March 18 through 23
Chicago, March 25 through 29
Milwaukee, March 30-31
Twin Cities, April 1 through 5
Flint, April 7-8
Buffalo, April 9-10.

Kutcher Challenges Clark at Jefferson Day Celebration

NEWARK, Feb. 24 — James Kutcher, legless veteran, today requested Attorney General Clark to revoke his dismissal from a clerk's job in the Newark Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party and to give a public hearing to his party so that it could be removed from the arbitrary blacklist of so-called "subversive" organizations.

Clark is the principal speaker at the New Jersey State Democratic Committee's Jefferson-Jackson Day Victory Dinner here tonight. Kutcher has just returned home from the Beth Israel Hospital following his sixth operation since both his legs were shot off in battle at St. Pietro, Italy in 1943. The full text of Kutcher's open letter to Clark follows:

OPEN LETTER

"It is now over four months since I was fired from the Newark VA solely because of my political ideas and since I personally appealed to you in Washington to rectify the injustice against me and the Socialist Workers Party to which I belong.

"I am still out of work and nothing has been done to restore my job. On the contrary, after my visit to your office where you promised to discuss my case with the VA Administrator, General Gray, I received word that he was compelled to approve my discharge.

"Gray stated in his letter that my dismissal was mandatory because I admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party which you as Attorney General had designated as 'subversive.' Both my party and I have denied this false accusation and challenged the right of a single government official representing one party to restrict the rights of another political party. We and many others concerned with civil liberties vigorously protested your procedure of setting up such a political blacklist without notification, without charges or evidence, and without any hearing.

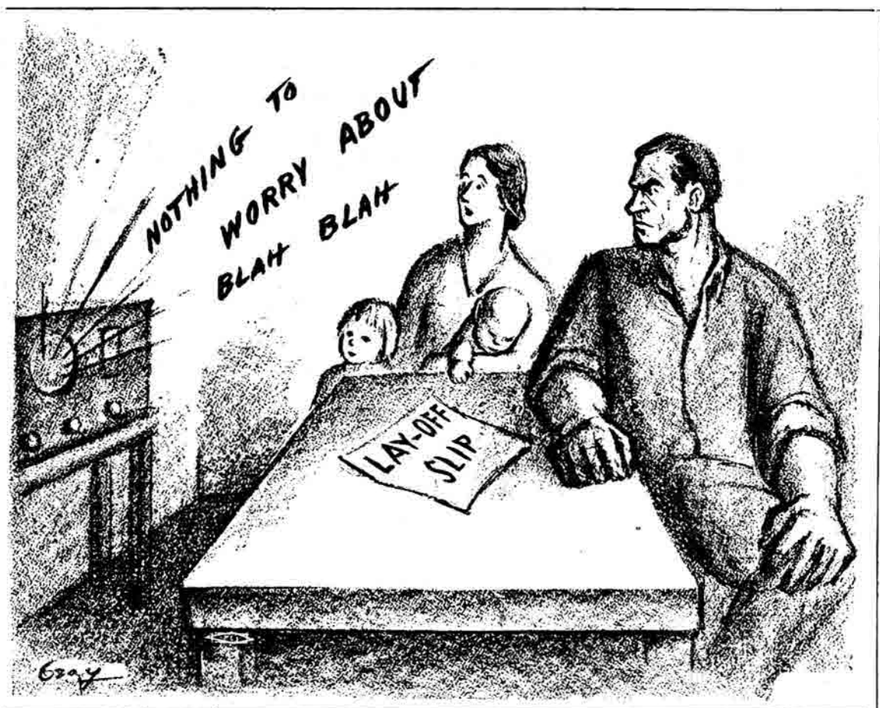
REQUESTS REPEATED

"I hereby repeat my request that you take immediate steps to restore my job and at least grant a public hearing at which the Socialist Workers Party can prove the falsity of the accusations against it.

"I urge this not only for myself but for all government workers who are entitled to hold political opinions without fear of persecution and for the many labor, veteran, religious and progressive organizations which back my fight for reinstatement.

"I would present this appeal in person if I had not just undergone my sixth amputation-operation since my legs were blown off at St. Pietro, Italy, in 1943.

"I should like to remind you that Thomas Jefferson, whom you are celebrating tonight, was a firm defender of free speech and free political activity. I cannot believe that the author of the Declaration of Independence, who also had revolutionary views, would have approved any resort to thought-control and police state methods. He firmly opposed the Alien and Sedition Laws from which your political blacklist was copied and he pardoned those who had been unjustly victimized by the previous U. S. Attorney General through these instruments of oppression."



Union Leaders Violate Promises in T-H Fight

The top labor leaders, both CIO and AFL, are leaving a trail of broken promises in the wake of their retreat on the issue of union-curbing legislation. Since the 81st Congress began its sessions, they have repeatedly broken for the rear, reestablished a new line which they promised to hold and then, at the first volley from the enemy, beat it to take up a new "last-ditch" position.

Before the elections they promised to fight for unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, with no qualifications whatever. Immediately after the elections, when Truman began talking of a bill to replace Taft-Hartley, the unions' leaders promptly spoke of repeal of the Taft Act and restoration of the former Wagner Act—but only after repeal of the Taft Act.

ADVANCING—BACKWARD

When Truman spoke of a "one-package" bill to repeal Taft-Hartley and pass an amended Wagner Act at the same time, the union leaders spoke out for a "two-package" bill to simultaneously repeal Taft-Hartley and restore the original Wagner Act, but—discuss amendments later. When Truman actually introduced his bill amending the Wagner Act, the union leaders forgot all about the "two-package approach" and promptly agreed "in principle" with these amendments. The AFL leaders even indicated they would accept more drastic provisions than Truman's bill proposed; but all union officials vowed they would not stand for the use of injunctions against strikes.

WHY THEY RETREAT

Finally, Truman enunciated his doctrine of "inherent powers" to invoke court action against "national emergency" strikes. He said an injunction law is merely "unnecessary" although he had "no objection" to it. Since then, the CIO and AFL leaders have not even referred to Truman's statement, which completely refutes their claim that he is against injunctions and that his bill does not allow their use. They are still trying to pretend that the dispute between Truman and Taft is over the principle of labor injunctions. Actually, it is over whether or not Truman needs a special law to permit him to enjoin strikes.

The union leaders' failure to oppose Truman's bill to curb certain types of strikes, impose "cooling off" periods and government intervention against strikes not to speak of their silence on his declaration of "inherent" strikebreaking powers—is not due solely or even mainly to their notorious spinelessness.

These union leaders WANT the capitalist government to have powers to curb strikes. They believe in capitalism and its government, while they are opposed to union militancy and have always counterposed class collaboration to a fighting class policy. They want the union rank and file repressed and welcome the government's intervention to get the workers off the picket lines while the union leaders settle labor disputes behind closed doors in backroom deals with the employers and government agents.

It is true that in the past these labor leaders, in the heat of great class battles when they had to speak militantly to retain their hold on the union ranks, have sometimes spoken out against the measures now proposed by Truman. Murray thus bitterly attacked Truman's "fact-finding" and 30-day "cooling off" proposals in December 1945 as "the first step toward more savage legislation." Last week, however, Murray boosted Truman's bill containing these same proposals.

The moment the union leaders agreed to anything but immediate and unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act they agreed to fight on Senator Taft's ground. Once they conceded "in principle" to amending the Wagner Act, they opened the gate to the whole procedure whereby the Republicans and Democrats, as Taft gloatingly predicted, could restore two-thirds of the Taft-Hartley Act under a different label.

CP TRIAL RECESSED

The thought-control trial of 11 Communist Party leaders in New York has been recessed for the last week. In our next issue Farrell Dobbs will resume his on-the-scene dispatches on the case.

Our Program to Meet Menace of Unemployment

An Editorial

Except for the Truman administration with its inaccurate statistics and the union leaders who are keeping mum, everybody acknowledges that unemployment has become a serious problem. Conservative business circles estimate the present jobless figure at more than four million — and rising.

The question facing organized labor is what to do about a menace already here and growing more threatening every day. The time has come for nation-wide labor action to put into effect a realistic program to protest the working class. We propose the following:

1. For a 30-hour week, six-hour day with no reduction in take-home pay. Almost every union has endorsed this program in the past. Take it out of cold storage and fight to make it a reality right now.

2. For a clause in every union contract providing a sliding scale of hours, an automatic reduction in hours, with no reduction in weekly pay, whenever available work is insufficient to provide full employment at the present work-week in any plant or industry.

3. For an all-out wage campaign to raise mass purchasing power by boosting real wages to the level before June 1946 when the run-away inflation began.

4. For unemployment insurance equal to full weekly union wages for all unemployed and for the entire duration of unemployment.

5. For public works of a socially beneficial character, including government-built low-rent housing, to provide jobs for the unemployed at union wages and to be financed from the billions now going for war preparations.

6. Call a United Congress of Labor of all unions to mobilize a militant, determined mass fight for this program.

Prohibit Labor Injunctions, Dobbs Demands of Congress

NEW YORK, Feb. 26 — Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, today called on the Senate Labor Committee to specifically provide safeguards on the rights of labor by making it illegal for any government agency, "be it executive, legislative or judicial, to restrict, restrain or deny the right to strike and picket by injunction, seizure of struck facilities, or by any other means." The full text of Dobbs' letter to the Senate Labor Committee follows:

Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Chm.
Senate Labor Committee
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Thomas:

There is grave cause for public alarm in President Truman's sweeping claim of "inherent power" to break strikes by injunction.

More is involved than the fact that the Democratic Party's pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act can mean little when the President claims authority to continue the very worst features of that anti-labor law.

The nation faces a growing threat of one-man rule by executive decree.

In flagrant violation of the Bill of Rights, the Truman Administration has decreed the blacklisting of opponent political organizations as "subversive." No bill of particulars has been furnished the accused organizations and demands for a public hearing on the "subversive" charge have been denied.

The legless war veteran, James Kutcher, and many others have already been victimized because of this blacklist.

Through the proposed North Atlantic military pact, the Administration is also attempting to circumvent the Constitution by shifting the actual war-making powers away from Congress into the hands of the President.

The political blacklist and the military pact, of course, have no direct bearing on the labor legislation under consideration by your committee. However, these examples of Administration policy make it crystal clear that the President's claim of "inherent power" to break strikes by injunction is not an isolated episode but rather part of a definite trend toward concentration of dictatorial powers in his hands.

Unless your commitee and the Congress answer the President with legislation specifically forbidding him to break strikes by injunction, you will have sanctioned by your silence his claim of "inherent power" to fasten a one-man dictatorial rule upon the country.

PART OF DEFINITE TREND

In the name of the Socialist Workers Party, I call upon your committee and the Congress to provide the following safeguards of the right to strike:

1. There shall be no restriction whatever on the right of all workers, including government employees, to organize, bargain collectively, strike and picket.

2. It shall be unlawful for any agency of government, be it executive, legislative or judicial, to restrict, restrain or deny the right to strike and picket by injunction, seizure of struck facilities, or by any other means.

Since my request for an appointment to appear in person before your commitee has not been granted, I ask you to insert this letter in the record of the committee hearings.

Yours truly,
FARRELL DOBBS
National Chairman
Socialist Workers Party

QUEENS COLLEGE CASE AND CATHOLIC HIERARCHY

NEW YORK, Feb. 23 — Leading Protestant clergymen, educators, parents groups and teachers organizations in this city, as well as most of the daily papers, have been aroused to stormy protest against what they call Mayor O'Dwyer's "unprecedented political interference" against the Board of Higher Education's anticipated choice of Dr. Bryn J. Hovde, head of the New School for Social Research, for the presidency of Queens College, a municipal institution.

The cry of "political interference" is a euphemism for the real and far more sinister agency behind O'Dwyer's brazen attempt to dictate to the elected Board whom it shall appoint for the Queens College post vacated by Dr. Paul Klapper last April and temporarily filled by Dr. Margeret V. Kiely.

AUDACIOUS MOVES

This is the most audacious move yet made by the Roman Catholic hierarchy to invade the public educational system of the country's largest city. The press, terrorized by fear of Catholic pressure and boycott, has dared only to hint at the true character of the "political interference" involved in this case. Several months ago the Catholic hierarchy was successfull in getting the Board of Education to ban **The Nation**, the country's oldest liberal weekly, from the public school libraries because of a series of articles exposing the political activities of the Vatican and its support of fascist dictators.

The full facts in the Queens College case reveal unmistakably the hand of the authoritarian Catholic hierarchy. Since the resignation of Dr. Klapper, Catholic pressure groups and politicians had been pulling strings to secure the Queens College post permanently for Dr. Kiely. When it became known that the majority of the Board of Higher Education intended to vote for Dr. Hovde a campaign to discredit him as a "communist" was launched by the Catholic hierarchy and its lay organizations.

SMEAR CAMPAIGN

The public spearhead of this campaign was The Tablet, **official organ of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, which called Dr. Hovde, a well-known liberal opponent of communism, a "leftist" and a "political innocent" who has been "playing into the hands" of the Communist Party.**

Shortly after this deliberately-concocted lie was circulated, O'Dwyer, leader of the dominant Irish Catholic political wing of Tammany Hall, summoned the Board of Higher Education members, over whom he has not the slightest legal authority, to City Hall on Feb. 17. In the presence of a delegation of 50 Catholic parishioners led by Supreme Court Justice Chales S. Golden, O'Dwyer savagely lashed the Board members for even considering Dr. Hovde for Queens College president. O'Dwyer claimed that the choice of Hovde was "contrary" to the "wish of the majority" of the people in Queens. When he polled the

(Continued on Page 2)

UAW Opposition Paper Answers Reuther

DETROIT, Feb. 21 — **The Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW, a progressive grouping of CIO United Auto Workers members, last week published the first issue of its new paper, the** Auto Union Builder. **This committee was formed after the 1947 UAW convention to fight for a militant program and union democracy against UAW President Walter Reuther's policy of "peace at any price" with the corporations and his attempt to impose one-man rule over the traditionally democratic auto union.**

In its main article, the **Auto Union Builder** answers a factional statement aimed at the Committee "on the eve of the local union elections" by the four top officers of the UAW and issued in the January **United Automobile Worker**, official UAW paper. The **Auto Union Builder** calls the Reuther faction statement "a cheap and dishonorable attempt at a smear" for falsely linking the opposition group to the Stalinists and "people outside the union. . . circulating literature and resolutions among local unions." The Committee, says its paper, "is composed exclusively of UAW members and includes some of the pioneer union builders from various locals in Detroit, Flint, Saginaw, Pontiac and elsewhere."

The answer to the Reutherites states that the reason for the organization of the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW was the "deep sense of dissatisfaction" among many members and local union officers with the policies of the Reuther administration.

"We refer particularly," says the **Auto Union Builder**, "to the administration's soft policy toward the corporations on speed-up and its collusion and collaboration with management against militant members of the UAW; we refer particularly to the signing of the two-year outrageously inadequate contract in General Motors, which moreover takes one-quarter of our union membership out of wage and pension negotiations in 1949: we refer particularly to the throttling of the democratic processes inside our union and the attempt to fasten upon the membership the dictatorial rule of a self-perpetuating machine."

The progressives' paper calls attention "to such well-known and universally recognized facts that in the past year over 5,000 GM workers have been disciplined by layoffs of from 3 to 90 days and dozens more have been fired for attempting to resist the raising of production standards." It charges the Reuther administration has not fought the speedup and has "refused to permit the ranks to defend themselves against this evil."

Against Reuther's policies, the paper urges the UAW members to support its "Program of Action to Meet the Needs of 1949." The first point in this 8-point program calls for a "Real Campaign for Wages and Pensions."

The program calls for industry-wide bargaining as the only means to break the "log-jam" created by the fact that the GM contract permits no separate GM negotiations this year and the Chrysler contract is closed for pension demands until 1950. It likewise calls for "common termination dates of all contracts" and "rejection of 'one-at-a-time' strategy." The fight for this wage and pension program should be launched by a "broadly representative" national UAW conference, says the paper. Unless these provisions are adopted, the paper says, "the whole Reuther economic program must be viewed as nothing but a hoax."

Other points of the program are: An all-out campaign against speed-up; for democratic and rank-and-file control in the union; for the elimination of wage differentials and organization of the unorganized; for abolition of all forms of discrimination in the plants and in the union; for a shop steward system in every plant; for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay to combat layoffs; and for a United Conference of Labor of all unions to fight for labor's program in Washington.

The Defense of Labor's Living Standards

By Art Preis

An outstanding feature of the capitalist system today is its instability. It staggers drunkenly between boom and bust, inflation and depression. This imposes on the labor movement the need for utmost flexibility and alertness in defending the workers' living standards. For each spasmodic lurch of the profit system threatens the workers in a special and specific way.

Because of its Marxist understanding of this extreme instability of capitalism in its decline and decay, the Socialist Workers Party since 1938 has put forward a program that anticipates the shifts and fluctuations of the capitalist economy. This program is designed to arm the American labor movement in advance to defend living standards from every capitalist attack, whether through inflation or depression.

TWO KEY PLANKS

Two key planks of this program are the sliding scale of wages and the sliding scale of hours. In the "boom" period of skyrocketing prices, the SWP emphasizes the sliding scale of wages to provide automatic wage increases, above the basic union wage scale, for all rises in the cost of living. When the signs of "bust" appear and lay-offs begin, the SWP advances the sliding scale of hours to provide automatic reductions in the work week with no cuts in take-home pay so that available work is divided equally among the workers without loss of weekly income. This is embodied today in the demand for the 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay.

Against this realistic and realizable program, the pro-capitalist union leaders seek to answer the assaults on living standards with programs based on the myth of capitalist stability, or its possibility. They are constantly caught off-guard by the extreme and rapid gyrations of the capitalist economy. When their own solutions prove obviously inadequate, they sometimes are forced by the pressure of the union ranks to borrow from the arsenal of the class-conscious militants and Marxists. But almost invariably they grasp these weapons too late or misuse them. Like gun-shy men, they fear these unaccustomed weapons and don't know how or when to use them.

STRIKING EXAMPLE

We see a striking example of this in the case of Walter Reuther, CIO United Auto Workers President, and the sliding scale of wages contract he signed with General Motors last May. This contract is now being widely discussed in labor circles because under its terms the GM workers in March are expected to get a two or three-cent pay reduction based on a decline in the Bureau of Labor Statistics' cost-of-living index.

Throughout the war and with renewed urgency at the end of the war, the SWP and increasing numbers of UAW militants urged the adoption of the sliding scale of wages program. Reuther opposed this program bitterly right up to the moment he handed the GM workers his own version of a sliding scale program.

During the previous years of inflation he and the rest of the CIO leaders, as well as the Stalinists who supplied the "theoretical" arguments against the sliding wage scale, all stressed the false program of the roll-back of prices by the government.

This utopian idea led only to frozen wages on the one hand and ever-rising prices on the other. When the war ended, the union leaders could not hold back the upsurge of the workers, who tossed the price-rollback myth into the ashcan and hit the picket lines for wage gains. Then was the most favorable time, at the very start of the post-war wage fight, that the UAW and the other unions should have fought for the sliding scale of wages.

But the only concern of the union leaders was to get the strikes over with as fast as possible by settling for skimpy flat wage increases. Had they fought for and won an adequate sliding wage scale, the present hourly wage scales would be far higher and higher wages would have prevailed automatically with each rise in the prices over the past three years. Even on the basis of figures furnished by Reuther's own research directors, this failure to fight for the sliding wage scale at the **most favorable time** has cost each and every auto worker alone over $1,000.

Reuther's faith in the roll-back program—that is, his faith in the capitalist government to stabilize prices quickly at a lower level—meant that each year the auto workers found their real wages, in spite of the bitterly-won wage increase of the previous year, lagging more and more behind prices.

THE 1948 GM CONTRACT

It was not until May 1948, late in the inflationary cycle and with signs already pointing to a break in the economy, that General Motors proposed and Reuther accepted a contract containing a sliding wage scale clause, the first of its kind adopted by any major union. Immediately thereafter, the Stalinist-controlled CIO United Elecrical Workers signed a similar contract for its members in the GM Electrical Division.

But, as the May 31, 1948, Militant immediately pointed out, Reuther had picked up the sliding scale program merely to distort and misuse it in reaching an easy deal with General Motors. We wrote, he "accepted the sliding scale program not as a fortification of, but as a substitute for, the needed increase in real basic wages, welfare benefits and grievance improvements."

In return for the sliding wage scale, Reuther sacrificed the auto workers' demand for a 25-cent hourly wage increase and took instead a mere six cents raise in the basic scale, plus five cents more for cost-of-living increases during the previous year. Thus, the GM basic wage scale was fixed at least 7-cents below that of Ford and Chrysler workers, which in turn was about 20 cents short of the real wage right after the war. The basic weakness of the GM contract was that it started from a base wage far below what the real wage should have been.

In addition, it provided for the possibility of a cut-back in wages of up to five cents an hour if prices declined instead of rising. This meant that the GM workers took the risk of losing the additional five-cent "cost-of-living" increase that had brought their net increase to 11 cents. This risk was further increased because the upward or downward revisions were to be based on the index of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, which notoriously underestimates rises in living costs, instead of on an index compiled by a union-farmer-consumer agency. Moreover, the hands of the GM workers were tied by a two-year contract, instead of the customary one-year clause, leaving them helpless to revise the wage clause in the event of a sharp change in the economic trend before expiration of the contract.

In spite of its obvious defects, the GM sliding scale contract did partially demonstrate the advantages of the principle of the sliding scale of wages if properly applied. Within three months of the contract's adoption and for the past six months, the GM workers have enjoyed an additional raise of three cents an hour, bringing their total wage increase to 14 cents, one cent higher than the Ford and Chrysler increase.

It is at this point, however, that the weaknesses of Reuther's version of the sliding wage scale are becoming apparent. The instability of the capitalist system is beginning to make itself felt again by a lurch in the direction of deflation and economic decline. Prices have begun to sag a bit and mass unemployment is starting to loom as a prospect for the coming period. The GM workers face a wage cut, due—we repeat—not to the sliding scale principle but to Reuther's false application of it.

STALINIST DEMAGOGY

This has offered the enemies of the principle of the sliding scale of wages, particularly the Stalinists, an opportunity to renew their assault upon the sliding scale program as such. George Morris, the Daily Worker's anti-Trotskyist hatchet-man, repeatedly attacks the obvious defects of the Reuther sliding scale program in the light of the pending GM wage cut. Morris falsely attributes these defects to the correct principle of the sliding scale of wages.

Morris, of course, doesn't remind the workers of the bankruptcy of the roll-back program that the Stalinists, along with Reuther and the CIO bureaucracy generally, counterposed for six years to the sliding wage scale program of the genuine CIO militants. Above all, he skips over the Stalinist war-time "incentive wages" program — that is, the program of fixing wages according to production **speed-up** as opposed to wage increases based on the needs of the workers.

But the Stalinist arguments, with their typical falsifications and distortions, are suspect from the outset because they omit any reference to the Stalinists' own use of the sliding scale of wages program. Why doesn't Morris attack the Stalinist leaders of the UE who borrowed Reuther's version of the sliding wage scale and incorporated it intact into their contract with the GM Electrical Division last June? Why doesn't Morris attack the French and Italian Stalinist union leaders who, under pressure of the workers, have made the sliding wage scale a major demand of the recent strikes? **The failure of Morris to condemn these Stalinist applications of the sliding scale principle shows that his attacks on the sliding scale program are nothing but hypocritical lies.**

NEW TREND APPEARING

We Trotskyists are not fetishists on slogans. Our program is rounded and takes into account different aspects. Each aspect of our program is designed to defend the workers from capitalist attack under specific conditions. Thus, the present period is giving indications of a shift in the American economy that necessitates a corresponding change in emphasis in the program to defend labor's standard of living.

The ominous increase of unemployment and part-time employment is one significant sign of a possible depression, which now indicates the need for a program to combat lay-offs and wage cuts. That is the program of the sliding scale of hours.

THE NEXT STEPS

First of all, we urge the labor unions to mobilize immediately for a nation-wide struggle to achieve the 30-hour week, six-hour day with no reduction in weekly wages. The unions must intensify their fight for an increase in mass purchasing power by a substantial fourth-round wage raise and at the same time demand in every contract a clause providing for an automatic reduction in hours with no loss of take-home pay whenever the employers claim they have insufficient work to keep everyone employed.

It is instructive to note that Walter Reuther, who opposed the sliding scale of wages when it was most timely, now fails to offer any program to safeguard the auto workers against lay-offs. When questioned on Feb. 20 about a program on lay-offs, he is reported to have said that the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay is **"idealistic and a dream at this time."**

That is the typical answer of a pro-capitalist union bureaucrat who fears every new prospect for labor struggle and who is hoping against hope that capitalism will stabilize itself in time and reduce the necessity for renewed class battle. The thousands of auto workers who have already been laid off, however, and the thousands more who see in these lay-offs the image of their own future don't think the fight for the shorter work-week "idealistic." They think it far more "idealistic" to wait for capitalism to "stabilize" itself. From this point of view, the SWP program of the sliding scale of hours is realism personified.

Landlords Lobby

Hundreds of landlords are descending on Washington to fight rent control legislation. Among those on the move, of course, are these Tulsa, Okla. realtors who startled the nation some weeks ago when they took advantage of the housing shortage to evict tenants on a wide scale.

Markos on the Scrapheap

A GREEK SEQUEL TO THE YUGOSLAV AFFAIR

By Spero

FEB. 10—In its smallest print and in a hidden-away corner, the Stalinist press of France and elsewhere has announced "the serious illness of Gen. Markos" and his resignation of "political and military responsibilities." With the same terseness and discretion, the Stalinist press has in recent days carefully avoided giving any explanations of this development, or any refutations of the accusations of bourgeois newspapers.

And this comes on the heels of a long, noisy campaign extolling the "victories of the Free Democratic Army of General Markos." **L'Humanite**, for example, contents itself with brief dispatches from the capitalist agencies, which merely report the "illness" of Markos and the changes taking place in the General Staff of the Greek partisans and in the "Free Greek Government."

But no one is fooled by the "diplomatic illness" of Markos, nor by the fatal consequences it may lead to, owing to its "grave" nature. The formula for the removal of Markos prepares for any eventuality including news of his death following a "grave illness." This is, of course, not the first time that the Stalinists, and the Greek Stalinists in particular, have settled ideological differences with drastic measures: a knife in the back, a bullet in the back of the head, etc.

Let us recall the fate of more than **400 Trotskyists and Archio-Marxists** in Greece, who were basely murdered by the Stalinist OPLA (the Greek GPU) in the first few months of the "liberation" and during the uprising of December 1944. Let us also recall the fate of the Stalinist leaders who dared to oppose the policy of outright betrayal carried out by the Greek Stalinists up to the capitulation of Varkiza. There was **Glafkos**, well-known Stalinist leader; there was **Ares Velouk-hiotis**, undisputedly the most heroic figure of the Greek Resistance. who opposed the capitulation; there were many others Stalinists assassinated by their "ideological" colleagues.

LINKED TO TITO RIFT

Tito would have long since met the same fate had he fallen in the net of a GPU plot. What is more, **the Markos affair is organically linked to that of Yugoslavia.**

We have stated and emphasized more than once—as against those who are impressed with the Stalinist "power," with the expansion, without collisions, without crises, without convulsions, of a Kremlin police state, to all parts of the globe and for a whole historical period—that in reality the Stalinist postwar expansion also signifies **the aggravation of the internal crisis of this system, the introduction of new ferments, of new contradictions, of new centrifugal forces, which will hasten its ultimate downfall. The Yugoslav affair disclosed this aspect, and was nothing more than the first large-scale and serious manifestation of this new aspect of the crisis of Stalinism.** The Greek affair is on the same plane: it is an organic extension of the same roots which fed the "Titoist deviation."

Wherever the Stalinist movement, during and after the last war, developed as a movement closely bound with the insurgent masses, and beyond the direct and absolute control by the Kremlin's agents, there has eventually resulted a rift with the Kremlin, and there is latent the possibility of resisting the Kremlin's attempts to again completely subjugate these movements. The partially autonomous character of these movements, as against the absolutist nature of the Stalin regime, are at the bottom of these conflicts with the Kremlin.

CLOSE RELATIONS

Let us examine the Greek affair more closely. The principal base of the Greek partisans, which has enabled them to hold firm, was the aid from Tito's Yugoslavia, and partly from Albania. With their backs to the borders of these two countries, they could always fall back there and regroup themselves, receive food and ammunition, tend the wounded, train their soldiers and officers.

The relations between the Greek and Yugoslav partisans were always the most friendly, the most close. When the Cominform excommunicated Tito, this came like a bombshell to the Markos partisans. None of his men could give serious credit to the allegations of the Kremlin. Caught between their devotion to the Kremlin and their traditional amity with the Yugoslav partisans, with their vital interests tied to Yugoslavia, the Greek partisans adopted a compromise position, avoiding any definite entry into the choir of the "anti-Titoists" and continuing their technical cooperation with Belgrade. Markos personally, along with a section of leading Greek Stalinists, seems to have resisted any definitive break with Tito; perhaps he remained unconvinced of Tito's "opportunist and national deviations."

Other reasons intervened to accentuate the uneasiness among the Greek partisans, and the more or less open differences among their leaders. Until the Cominform's break with Tito, the perspective of a "Soviet" Balkan Federation, including **all of Greece**, remained open to the Greek partisans and galvanized their revolutionary energy. But since the split, the plan of detaching only Greek Macedonia has been sketched more and more clearly. This region is to be included in a Federation of South Slavs, sponsored if not dominated by Dimitrov's Bulgaria

Now the Greek partisans have a traditionally powerful attachment to the integrity of Greek territory, and are violently opposed to any sacrifice to Bulgaria's profit; they are unwilling to accept any Federation plan which does not mean the Balkan Federation including **all the countries of the Peninsula on an equal footing.** This deep sentiment of the partisan masses and even of the rank and file Greek Stalinists is probably shared by a number of the politico-military Stalinist leaders.

Markos, the pseudonym for Vafiades, a veteran tobacco-worker with a long revolutionary record in the struggles of the Greek proletariat, who rose from the inner cadres of the Greek CP, was very probably at the head of this fraction. Such a position could not fail to draw him still closer to Tito.

DIPLOMATIC PAWNS

It is also possible that Moscow had for a second time wished to make use of the local partisan movement as small change in its current transactions with imperialism, and to impose a new capitulation. Let us recall that in the course of the present "peace offensive" of the Kremlin offers of a compromise were announced a month ago by the "Government of Free Greece" and rejected by Athens.

It still remains to be seen to just what extent the Greek partisans will be willing to simply play the role of pawns in the Kremlin's diplomatic chess game, and to bend their spines conformably to all the twists required by Moscow, without considering the actual interests of the Greek masses. But the examples of serious differences in the past, of even open dissidence in the ranks when Stalin's commissars, with Zakhariades at the head, imposed their submission to the British General Staff and their collaboration with Papandreou (i.e. their subordination to imperialism and to the bourgeoisie, which led to the bloody defeat of December 1944 and the capitulation of Varkiza), give us grounds to say that this time, too, they will not be more disposed to play the mere role of puppets for the Kremlin.

Markos represented that tendency inside the bureaucratic leadership which shied away from the direct and absolute control on the part of the Kremlin, and which was especially compromised by its attitude towards Tito, which if not sympathetic was at least ambiguous. This appears plainly from the changes effected in the partisan General Staff and the "Government of Free Greece."

GPU NOW IN CONTROL

An entire staff of leaders, including Markos, Roussos and his famous companion Chryssa Chatsivasilou (the "Anna Pauker" of Greece) and Porphyrogenis, have been purged. The reins of power have passed, first of all, to Giannos Ioannides, until now **"Minister of the Interior"** and to Zachariades. Of the two, the first is the "strong" personality.

A veteran barber-worker, little known to the public, a grey personality lurking behind the scenes in the party, Ioannides has been a member of the Central Committee since the expulsion in 1927 of the Trotskyist majority of this body, headed by the party's General Secretary Pantelis Pouliopoulos (shot by Italian occupation authorities in 1943). Ioannides is one of the few members of the CC of the Greek Communist Party who, throughout the successive shake-ups and in spite of excommunications from Moscow, has never lost his place in that body. He is generally considered to be the "Moscow's man" in Greece, i.e., the Kremlin's direct agent, belonging both to the party and to the GPU.

As for Zachariades—the Thorez or the Togliatti of Greece—he enjoys, at least in appearance, Moscow's complete confidence. Responsible for the policies of the Greek CP for several years, and particularly for its policies during the occupation and the December uprising, he has just made, "in true Bolshevik manner," his "self-criticism" in a long article published in the Cominform organ, **"For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy."** As if nothing at all were amiss, he puts on display all the "mistakes" (i.e., the collaboration with imperialism and the bourgeoisie) which let to the December 1944 defeat and to the capitulation (of Jan. 11, 1945). But he breathes not a word about the fact that this policy, in no way limited solely to the Greek CP, was in reality the logical outcome, the normal application of the Kremlin's general line during World War II.

Thus the leadership of the partisans and of the "Government of Free Greece" has passed into the hands of the direct agents of the Kremlin. The latter has gained its first victory before an open defection could break out among the Greek partisans and bolster up that of Tito in the Balkans.

SHARP CHANGES COMING

But there is absolutely no guarantee that the new GPU crew of Ioannides will manage to maintain its control and its prestige among the Greek partisans and workers. This action on the part of Moscow is in fact a stab in the back to the resistance of the Greek masses, it demoralizes and disorients them, and decidedly promotes the game of the class enemy, who already are rejoicing and gaining confidence.

But through this painful experience, the discontent with Stalinist treachery, among masses in Greece, in the Balkans, and throughout the world keeps making its way slowly, haltingly and painfully as yet.

The sharp changes which we shall witness on the morrow in the attitude of these masses towards Stalinism will be due in large measure to the repercussions of the Greek and Yugoslav affairs.

LOGICAL CHOICE

Ex-Congressman Fred Hartley, co-author of the T-H Act, has been appointed president of the Tool Owners Union, a fascist organization.

QUEENS COLLEGE CASE AND CATHOLIC HIERARCHY

(Continued from page 1)

opinion of the 1,500,000 residents of Queens on this question is not known.

WIDE PROTESTS

Outraged attacks on O'Dwyer immediately followed from all but official Catholic quarters. Dr. Alvin Johnson, president emeritus of the New School for Social Research, stated: **"An ignorant and foolish politican, flanked by a Tammany judge and a group of parishioners pretending to represent the people of Queens, presumes to tell the constituted educational authorities who may be elected president of Queens College and who may not."**

Mrs. Rose Russell, legislative representative of the CIO teachers union, called O'Dwyer's move "nothing more nor less than an attempt by a certain religious grouping to control our public colleges as they already hold an enormous measure of control over public schools." Protests have come from the Liberal and American Labor parties, the United Parents Association, faculty members of Queens College and the head of its students association. A citizens committee, led by a number of Protestant ministers and union officials, has been organized in Queens to fight the Catholic hierarchy's encroachment on the city-supported college and its attempts to push a wedge of bigotry and clerical domination into the educational system.

Undoubtedly, the Catholic hierarchy has been emboldened to its latest attacks on the principle of the separation of church and state by the success of its lynch-inciting campaign against "communism" over the Mindszenty case. "Communism" has become the hierarchy's standard label for all who oppose its attempts to gain state support for parochial schools or who attack its reactionary political activities and social aims.

HOVDE'S POSITION

Ironically, Dr. Hovde, the central object of the Roman Church's attack in the Queens College case, only a week before he himself came under open attack, announced, in the name of "academic freedom," his support for the witch-hunt against "communists" in the schools. And the day before O'Dwyer attacked him, the New School printed an editorial by Hovde joining the Catholic hierarchy in its chorus on the Mindszenty case. Thus Hovde is being scorched by the fire to which he himself added fuel.

Mounting Union Aid for Kutcher

The two biggest locals of the CIO United Electrical Workers in Pittsburgh have endorsed the Kutcher case and each contributed $25 to his defense fund. These are Local 601, representing 16,500 workers at the Westinghouse unit in East Pittsburgh, and Local 610. The Executive Board of the Westinghouse local also plans to circulate among its members the petitions urging Truman to reinstate the legless veteran.

Two of the largest locals of the CIO Auto Workers in the Detroit region, Briggs Local 212 and Hudson Local 154, last week went on record in support of Kutcher's fight and gave $50 toward his defense. Locals 205 and 51 have likewise voted to give financial and moral aid.

Minneapolis reports that the AFL Hennepin County Highway Employees, Local 1152, took favorable action on the Kutcher case.

At its last meeting Chapter 282 of the American Veterans Commitee in Lynn, Mass., voted to set up a civil liberties committee to organize support in that city on behalf of the victimized veteran.

New York

Public Lecture Series
"Scientists and the Atomic Frankenstein"
Lecturer:
Joseph Hansen
Sun., Mar. 6 - 8 PM
at: Chelsea Workers Center
130 W. 23rd St., N. Y.

St. Louis

Are Truman's Promises to Labor Being Carried Out?
Will He Put Through His Civil Rights Program?
hear:
A. Arbeiter
"Results of the Election"
Thur., Mar. 10 - 8 PM
Rm. 312, Olivia Building
1023 N. Grand Blvd.

SINISTER!

Do you know the facts about the sinister alliance between top American trade union officials and the Vatican? Do you know the truth about the Catholic "Labor" schools? Do you kno wabout the colossal wealth of the Vatican? its ties with fascism? the real aims of its trade union shock force, the ACTU?

Read Art Preis' smashing inside story of the cold war inspired by the Holy See to capture the American trade unions. Read **"Priests Bore from Within"** in the March issue of **Fourth International**, monthly magazine of the American Trotskyists.

Make sure you get your copy by filling out the coupon and mailing it with a $2.50 money order or check for a full 12 months subscription to **Fourth International**, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. We'll start your subscription with the issue containing Art Preis' sensational expose. Do it today!

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NEXT WEEK:
Struggle for Control Of the CIO United Electrical Union
By Bert Cochran
Anna Louise Strong Book on China
Review by Li Fu-jen
Stalinists Attack James Kutcher
By George Breitman

Send for extra copies to distribute to your friends and shopmates. Bundles of five or more copies 3c a copy. Rush your order to reach us on or before March 3.

THE MILITANT
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3

READ
Fourth International

THE MILITANT ARMY

"Militant" Friends Send Funds to Help Repair Fire Damage

Friends of **The Militant** have responded magnificently to our emergency call for financial help to get our office back in shape after the fire that burned us out a few weeks ago.

Our friends in **Baltimore** sent $25 to "help rebuild the damage." Thanks to O.C. and the others for the fine contribution.

Toledo dug down deep and made up a purse of $12.50, which represents, we know, a sacrifice for the comrades there.

Chicago South Side sent $7 and Northwest Side sent $6.50 with a pledge to make an additional contribution.

Flint passed the hat and sent in an even $5.

Our old friend and comrade **Hildegarde S.** of Kansas mailed us a $10 contribution, saying: "Now with the depression right around the corner, **The Militant** just must come out regularly. The workers — particularly the unemployed — should be reminded of the warnings OUR candidates gave them during the campaign about Truman and his promises."

J. H. of Philadelphia responded to our call with $5. J. H. congratulates the staff "on managing to get our paper out regularly during the emergency" and is sorry that he can't send more at this time.

J. M. of Seattle came through with $5 on the line; and **E. M.** of New York added $2 to the Reconstruction Fund.

The Militant's staunch backer in Kewanee, Ill., **James W. Connery**, sent $1 for himself and $1 from Comrade **J. J.**

M. M. of Minneapolis enclosed $1 with a note congratulating **The Militant** on its "grand campaign" and wishing it "good luck in the future."

A **Friend** in New York sent $1.

And **Sam K.** of New York, who always comes through in emergencies, pledged $10, half of which he has already paid up.

Subscriptions: $2 per year; $1 for 6 months. Foreign: $3.50 per yr; $2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

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Vol. XIII - No. 9 Monday, February 28, 1949

TROTSKY

"The American worker is very combative — as we have seen during the strikes. They have had the most rebellious strikes in the world. What the American worker misses is a spirit of generalization, or analysis, of his class position in society as a whole. This lack of social thinking has its origin in the country's whole history — the Far West with the perspective of unlimited possibilities for everyone to become rich. Now all that is gone, but the mind remains in the past. Idealists think the human mentality is progressive, but in reality it is the most conservative element of society. Your technique is progressive but the mentality of the worker lags far behind. Their backwardness consists of their inability to generalize their problem; they consider everything on a personal basis. Now, the war will teach the American workers social thinking. . . and this means revolutionary thinking."
Leon Trotsky, Discussion on America, 1940.

LENIN

The North Atlantic Pact Conspiracy

In recent weeks Washington has been the scene of frenzied secret negotiations on a scale this country has never known in "peacetime." Acheson and other ranking officials of the State Department meet in one secret session after another with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The same officials huddle in strictest secrecy with the Ambassadors of Britain, Belgium, France, Netherlands and Luxemburg. All that the public is permitted to know is that a "suitable formula" is being worked out for U. S. "participation" in the North Atlantic Pact.

A "suitable formula" for whom? A "suitable formula" for what? Under discussion here, as everybody knows, are the most far-reaching decisions affecting not only the welfare of the American people, but of the whole world, of the fate of civilization itself. Issues far less vital are customarily discussed in public; at least public hearings are held. But on the fateful question of war and peace we see this brazen resort to secret diplomacy.

What are they hiding? What are they perpetrating behind the backs of the people?

The capitalist press conveys only rumors. Before the ratification of the North Atlantic Pact, before a text of this treaty has even been submitted to the Senate, there are rumors of still another treaty — a Mediterranean "defense alliance" — which will come as a supplement at a "later date."

Simultaneously, an arms program is being drafted to "implement" the North Atlantic Pact. Right now the State Department is preparing a "world arms bill" granting the President sweeping powers to "transfer" any and all types of munitions to any quarter of the globe.

Nobody knows what the costs of such a huge arms program will be. Business circles are, of course, rife with speculation on this score. *Business Week*, Feb. 19, hints that arms "agreements to North Atlantic Pact nations may be the answer" to government spending and a new inflationary spiral that might ensue. The plan obviously is to let this multi-billion dollar decision, along with other corresponding decisions in this sphere, rest in the hands of one man, namely the President.

The fact is that once the projected "defense" pact along with the "implementing" arms program is ratified by Congress, then, regardless of what "formulas" may be contained in the final treaty and arms drafts, the power of deciding on war or peace will actually pass into the hands of Truman. Congress will be left the role of a rubber stamp.

There is still time for the American people to safeguard themselves against the terrible threat implied in all this. The war-making powers must be taken out of the hands of capitalist politicians in Congress and in the White House. The people themselves must have the right to decide on war or peace by referendum vote.

The Wailing Liberals

The liberals are thronging once more to the Wailing Wall. They are moannig that the Truman administration is failing to carry through on its election pledges. Eight weeks ago they were jubilantly hailing the opening of the "Fair Deal" Congress.

"The Fair Deal Falters" now complain — the *New Republic* editors (Feb. 19). The difficulty, they claim, lies in Truman's poor leadership qualities and his propensity to "trust the fate of his program to congressional leaders."

The Social-Democratic *New Leader's* Washington correspondent on Feb. 19 observed that "the elation which followed the miracle of Nov. 2 is unbelievably flat." He adds the gloomy prophecy that "Truman's progressive program" faces "a bleak and dubious outlook."

From the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People comes concern over "an apparent agreement between the northern and southern wings of the majority party to forestall civil rights legislation."

Amercans for Democratic Action, through its executive chairman, on Feb. 16 wrote Democratic floor leader Senator Scott Lucas that it is "frankly appalled" at the "defeatist attitude" of Democratic leaders on the filibuster and the fate of the civil rights program.

If the top Trumanite union leaders haven't spoken out as frankly, it's not because they aren't plenty worried by what's happening in Washington. They just haven't guts to tell the truth to the union members they fooled.

Truman hasn't changed. His "qualities of leadership" haven't changed. His program hasn't changed. All that has happened is that a capitalist machine politician is now demonstratng once more by performance how ltle his pre-election promises really meant.

All these liberals can do now is cry into their milk and act as if they don't know how it all came about. They haven't even the decency to admit that they deliberately helped to sell a political fake to the people. They haven't even the "morality" (which they're always talking about) to tell the whole truth now: That Truman and the Democratic Party are, as they have always been, reactionary to the core; that their "liberalism" was nothing but cheap demagogy; and that the only fair deal the American people will get politically will be through their own party, a labor party.

A Blow to Sound Unionism

Solidarity against the employers is the keystone of sound unionism. The policy of class collaboration between union leaders and employers — which invariably means collaboration against the workers — can only undermine and eventually destroy genuine unionism.

The depths to which class collaboration can sink is shown by the collusion between CIO United Auto Workers officials and West Coast employers to bar "communists" and "fellow travellers" from employment, which *The Militant* exposed last week.

The Militant published documentary proof that Benedict Nathanson, UAW Aircraft Division director, as principal speaker before a closed meeting of industrial relations and personnel directors in Los Angeles last September, had urged the corporations "not to hire" anyone they consider "politically unreliable" and to "check with" union officials "as to the political beliefs of employment officials."

This same Benedict Nathanson who now offers to act as fingerman for the corporations against "communists" — meaning all union militants whom the bosses or the union bureaucrats don't like — was himself the victim of what he now proposes as a general corporation practice. Some ten years ago, before he rose above the union ranks and became a functionary on Walter Reuther's payroll, Nathanson was fired by the Commercial Tool and Die Company in Detroit. He was fingered as a "communist" by J. J. Griffin, head of the Tool and Die Craftsmen, a company-dominated outfit. It was UAW Local 157 that took up his case and got his job back for him.

Nathanson's own history is an object lesson on what his present policy leads to. But the issue involved is even broader than it appears on the surface. Let the union leaders and the employers succeed in barring "communists" from employment today and tomorrow they will be working together to fire "communists" already employed. Given an opportunity, the employers and the reactionary union officials will drive from the plants all unionists who oppose either company policies or the policies of the union bureaucrats.

Nathanson's speech, which reflects the thinking of the top UAW leadership, indicates a truly sinister trend. If allowed to take root and flourish inside the UAW it will poison the union. The UAW was built on the principles of union solidarity, no discrimination, democratic discussion. It will be preserved only if the auto workers cleanse the union of the alien and destructive policies typified by Nathanson's speech to the West Coast corporation agents.

Life in MacArthur's Japan Today

JAPAN DIARY by Mark Gayn, William Sloane Association, 1948, 517 pp., $4.

By Paul Schapiro

Mark Gayn is a liberal journalist with considerable Far Eastern experience who was assigned to Japan as a correspondent in the autumn of 1945. He came with a feeling of exhilaration, for he thought he was to be the spectator of great events. The United States had proclaimed that it was going to democratize Japan, and from army headquarters in Tokyo issued a steady stream of directives avowedly designed to do just that.

Altho Gayn was bubbling with optimism and excitement at the thought of the U. S. Army reshaping Japan, as a conscientious reporter he was not content merely to accept headquarters hand-outs but traveled widely through the country, talking to leading personalities and ordinary people of all layers of society. He soon found that the reforms were merely surface changes which enabled the old ruling Japanese gang to remain in power while mouthing democratic phrases.

Japan Diary is the day-by-day record, slightly revised for publication, which Gayn kept of his observations during his year's stay and of his progressive disillusionment. In his concluding postscript he warns that by supporting reaction in Japan, Korea and China, the United States has laid the train for popular explosions. "Force and repression are not the answers to unrest. The answer is an enlightened social reform."

Gayn's forlorn appeal for the fulfillment of MacArthur's grandiloquent promises reveals the liberal's infinite capacity for self-delusion. His own story of the occupation shows the impossibility of "an enlightened social reform" without an overturn of the social structure which Wall Street and the State Department diplomats and military brass hats who serve it cannot allow. One of the more intelligent of these brass hats, the Chief of the Industrial and Financial Division of MacArthur's headquarters, a member of "a well-known American industrial family, whose interest he represented in Japan before the war," went to the heart of the matter on one occasion.

"Destroy the **zaibatsu** [the handful of monopolist families in Japan]," he told Gayn, "and you must have chaos for the next ten years, or have a socialist economy. Wipe out the **zaibatsu** banks, and the entire banking structure goes to pot. Smash the **zaibatsu**, and there'll be no field for our investment in Japan. You know yourself that the business-

GENERAL MacARTHUR

men in headquarters in Tokyo want to see old Japan restored. The military people also feel that most of their headaches can be prevented by keeping the **zaibatsu** intact. . . . And something else. Let's not kid ourselves. We need a strong Japan, for one of these days we'll have to face Russia, and we'll need an ally. Japan is it."

And indeed the zaibatsu had nothing to fear from the occupation forces, with their heavy sprinkling of Big Business representatives whom Gayn saw quite openly buying into the zaibatsu and cementing partnerships with them. The cabinet members of the Japanese government through which MacArthur was supposedly reforming Japan were, Gayn found, thoroughly bound up with the zaibatsu. Even the finance minister who was supervising the breaking up of the zaibatsu was a zaibatsu head. And any laws he might draft had to be approved by the emperor, who had immense investments in zaibatsu companies. It is not strange that the anti-zaibatsu laws left the zaibatsu controlling most of Japan's economy.

Similarly, the land-reform laws left the landlords in control of the countryside. "The government," sharecroppers told Gayn, "is always in league with the landlord. What we want is not more Japanese land laws, but an order from General MacArthur. The landlords would obey that."

The old governmental apparatus was retained more or less intact. The Thought Control Police had been abolished, but most of its leading members found their way into important governmental posts. The chief of the Labor Division of the Ministry of Welfare was a man who had crushed labor unions as a member of the Thought Control Police. When Gayn asked another former member of the Thought Control Police, now chief of the Fourth Section of the Investigation Bureau in the Home Ministry, if he were not afraid of being purged, he replied, "I don't think so. After all, my section has been set up at the request of your army."

It was this government which MacArthur propped up in 1946 when it was tottering under the impact of the demonstrations of 250,000 people in Tokyo. Of these "Give Us Rice" demonstrations MacArthur said in a warning to the Japanese people: "They constitute a menace not only to orderly government but to the basic purposes and security of the Occupation itself."

Conditions in Korea, which Gayn visited for a period, were even worse. There a great revolutionary uprising, involving hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people, was being crushed. In the police reports at army headquarters Gayn found the story of the revolution. It began September, 1946, in the city of Taegu with a succession of strikes by the railroad, phone, metal, textile and electric workers, each of which was suppressed by the Korean police. It was next taken up by the students, who poured into the streets to demonstrate. Fighting broke out in which one-third of the 150,000 inhabitants took part.

From Taegu the flames of the revolution spread to the country at large. Sharecroppers and poor farmers attacked the homes of landlords and the police stations. But the revolution was stamped out by the U. S. Army with the aid of the Korean police and reactionary strong-arm organizations, which it formed into posses, supplied with arms and transported to trouble areas.

In the Korean counter-revolutionary regime the Japanese-trained police force was not only retained ("Many men are born policemen," the American chief of the Police Division told Gayn. "We felt that if they did a good job for the Japanese, they would do a good job for us"); it was strengthened by incorporating into it members of the reactionary hooligan bands which had helped the Americans. This police force used the most horrible methods of physical torture on the prisoners rounded up in the mass arrests, from beating with metal rods to such refinements as placing burning wooden slivers under finger-nails.

When an American junior officer assigned to guard a police station protested to his commanding officer at what he saw, he was told that he had orders not to interfere in Korean "administrative detail." The American Military Government not only countenanced this police brutality; it subsidized a Korean "School for Leaders," which, its Korean founder told Gayn, was modelled on Chiang Kai-shek's New Life Movement and taught selected young men from the reactionary bands how to break strikes and the history of the Hitler Youth Movement.

This was the Japan and the Korea which Gayn saw in 1946. The stories of new uprisings in Korea and of new restrictions on labor by MacArthur which have appeared since then show that the American Military Government, faced by increasing popular discontent, is continuing to tighten the screws of reaction.

Letters from Our Readers

Southern Worker Itemizes High Cost Of Medical Care

Editor:

In the Deep South, stronghold of the chiropractor and the faith healer, an editorial campaign against socialized medicine has been waged for some time, now more emphatically than ever. The writer, an average worker, is recovering from an appendectomy, and would like these facts considered.

Apart from wages lost to date, $191.04, the cost of this experience has been $345.50, divided as follows: Room and nursing, 7 days, $52.50; X-rays, $75; incidental charges, $30.50; anaesthetist's fee, $20; surgeon's fee, $150; ambulance fee, $7.50; post-operative medicine, $10.

Of the $345.50, $93 was chargeable against a private hospitalization policy costing $9.60 a year. Thus, private hospitalization paid for roughly 27% of the total cost. A few policies are available which include a part of the surgeon's fee, but at a considerably stiffer rate. No policy is available, to the writer's knowledge, which completely removes the burden of financial worry from the patient. Private hospitalization is no answer.

Consider the services rendered. A semi-private room cost $7.50 a day, including three skimpy meals, three or four visits from a registered nurse and the attendance of an aide when available. A good hotel room, private, with three square meals and room service would cost about the same.

X-rays come at $15 a shot; ask any technician what it costs to make such a shot. A liberal estimate by a local man puts it at about a dollar!

Incidental charges, amounting to about 9% of the total, are enlightening; a strip of surgical gauze and three pieces of adhesive tape, obtainable at any drug store for possibly 25c., was billed to the writer at $2.50! The surgeon involved got $150 for an hour's work, only one out of several similarly spent that day. Even conceding the capitalist arguments about initiative and reward, them's damn good wages, brother! All of this, incidentally, was in a perfectly reputable and highly respected religious hospital.

On the other hand, the nurses who do most of the work make between $125 and $150 a month, on which they must live, pay for uniforms, shoes, stockings, breakage, etc., and, when in training or doing post-graduate work in the same hospital, pay for books, supplies, etc. The aides, doing the heaviest and dirtiest work, make (sh!) $150 a month!

A similar operation on the patient's wife, four years ago, cost about $160, without X-rays. Less X-rays, the patient paid $270.50. The difference, $110.50, represents a cash increase of about 69% in the cost of appendectomies in four years, in addition to which the wife had a private room and better food.

It is clear to the writer that a terrific profit is being taken by institutions and the medical profession on human illness and woe. It is also clear that common decency and humanitarian feelings have not and never will stand in the way of this profiteering in pain. From this it follows that the only answer to this problem is compulsory social insurance, socialized medicine (and let us not forget decent wages for nurses, aides, internes and technicians) and, in the ultimate analysis, socialism.

Southern Reader

Raises Question on Our Attitude Toward The Soviet Union

Editor:

I am a great friend of your newspaper and your ideas, I voted for your Dobbs and Carlson by write-in, and I was more than happy at the chance, so you will know I am a real socialist.

I see and admire the cartoon, "Workers, In Your Hands Lies Indonesia's Fate!" reprinted from the paper of the Dutch Trotskyist party. Splendid! The Dutch workers should not allow these people to be attacked and destroyed. But if the Dutch workers should halt their imperialists in Indonesia, shouldn't the American workers halt "our" imperialists before they unleash all the horrors of a madman's dream upon our fellow-workers in Russia?

One thing disturbs me: I haven't lately seen the slogan, Defend the Soviet Union, in **The Militant**. This I do not understand. I have greatly admired the SWP for its loyalty to this slogan, or, rather, this great principle; I have read of the disputes upon this subject in 1939 and 1940, and it would grieve me extremely if I were forced to believe that the SWP has abandoned this bastion.

I know all that you will say about Stalin. I understand that he has taken many backward steps away from socialism; I understand above all his pro-capitalist orientation, which is a shame and disgrace to the leader of a workers' state. When he says he is willing to meet Truman, my soul revolts with horror and disgust, but whatever disgusting thing that Stalin may do, we must defend the Soviet Union. Please print in your paper that you agree with this great principle!

J. M.
Cambridge, Mass.

ED. NOTE: A comprehensive Marxist analysis of the Soviet Union will be found in the theses, "The USSR and Stalinism," adopted by the Second World Congress of the Fourth International last year and printed in the June issue of the American monthly magazine, **Fourth International**. Although the reactionary Voorhis Act prevents the SWP's affiliation to the Fourth International, we are in full agreement with the main ideas and conclusions of this document, which is too long to be reprinted here, and we urge our readers to obtain and study it. Briefly stated, however, the Trotskyist position on the Soviet Union is the following:

The Soviet Union was created in backward Russia by a workers' revolution as the first successful step in the world revolution to institute socialism. Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, capitalism was abolished and great social, political and economic advances were made in the first workers' state. But after the defeat of the revolution in other countries, most of these gains were destroyed when the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy seized power in the Soviet Union.

Under Stalinism, the Soviet Union is no longer moving in the direction of socialism although it still retains the economic foundations of a workers' state—the planned economy that replaced the capitalist relations after the revolution. We express the contradictory character of the Soviet Union by the term, **degenerated** workers' state.

Despite the terrible crimes of Stalinism, the workers of the world have a real stake in preserving the remaining conquests of the Russian revolution. World imperialism would be strengthened if it succeeded in overthrowing the planned economy and the collective ownership of the means of production in the Soviet Union; that in turn would make it more difficult to abolish world imperialism.

Revolutionary socialists therefore have the duty to oppose the efforts of world imperialism, led by U. S. capitalism, to smash the degenerated workers' state and restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. The strategy of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack is part of the strategy of world socialist revolution. **The Militant** has always adhered to this strategy, in wartime and in peacetime.

But imperialist attack is not the only threat to the preservation of the remnants of the Russian revolution. Equally dangerous to the socialist future of the Soviet Union is the existence and power of the Salinist bureaucracy, which has laid the basis in its own way for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, sabotaged the extension of the revolution to other countries, discredited the very concept of socialism and isolated the Soviet masses from their only salvation--the support of the workers of the world.

Defending the Soviet Union so that it can develop in the direction of socialism requires not only opposition to world capitalism and the struggle for its abolition but also opposition to Stalinism and the struggle for its abolition. This too is part of the strategy of world socialist revolution which **The Militant** defends and advocates in wartime and in peacetime.

Concretely, defense of the Soviet Union for us means on the one hand, relentless political struggle against the war plans of U. S. imperialism, which can be defeated definitively only by the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government in this country, and on the other hand, relentless political struggle against Stalinism, whose culmination must be the overthrow of Stalinist power by a victorious workers' revolution in the Soviet Union. As every reader of **The Militant** should be aware, both sides of this world strategy are consistently presented in the pages of this paper.

NAACP Condemns Democratic Party Delays on Closure

NEW YORK, Feb. 17 — Failure of the Democratic majority in the Senate to proceed with immediate debate on the issue of closure was this week denounced by the NAACP as "an unmistakable attempt to snare civil rights in a squeeze play between the anticipated filibuster against change of rules and the demand for early enactment of new labor legislation."

A resolution passed by the NAACP board of directors on Feb. 14 warned "that the voters who returned the Democrats to power last November. . . on the basis of that party's platform declaration in behalf of civil rights will not be content with less than effective amendment of the Senate rules to halt the national disgrace of the filibuster which now shamelessly permits one-third plus one of the Senate to defeat the will of the majority."

"The apparent agreement between the northern and southern wings of the majority to forestall civil rights legislation by postponing debate on change of the Senate rules until a few days prior to the introduction of the new labor bill deceives no one," asserts the NAACP resolution. "It is an effort to divide organized labor and non-labor supporters of the President's civil rights laws and to thwart basic changes in the Taft-Hartley Labor Act." The Senate hearing on Truman's substitute for the Taft-Hartley Act was scheduled to end Feb. 23, and the date set for the opening of debate on closure is Feb. 28.

Rejecting the Hayden-Wherry resolution which retains the two-thirds vote requirement as "a meaningless gesture," the NAACP resolution calls for "amendment of this resolution to permit closure by a simple majority of senators voting."

Los Angeles Meeting
Protest the Persecutions of Stalinists in New York and Los Angeles
hear
Myra Tanner Weiss
SWP Candidate for Mayor
Sun., Mar. 6 - 8 PM
North Hall
Embassy Auditorium

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII — MONDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1949 — NUMBER 9

Potential Fellow-Draftees!

By John F. Petrone

Bill Mauldin anticipated my complaint with one of the cartoons included at the end of his latest book, **Back Home.** It shows a feeble, evil-eyed old man, sitting in a well-padded easy chair at his club, brandishing his cane and quavering in his loudest tones: "I say it's war, Throckmorton, and I say let's fight." It's one of my favorite Mauldin cartoons, but it never draws a chuckle out of me.

Don't get me wrong. I am not trying to substitute an old-age theory of war for the tried and tested Marxist analysis of the capitalist causes of war. And I am not proposing a panacea that would abolish war without abolishing its capitalist causes. All I am doing is calling attention to a certain relationship that gripes me to the point of fury.

My blood began to boil faster when I read in the Feb. 19 **N. Y. Times** of a hearing by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on further Marshall Plan appropriations. Charles A. Eaton, Republican congressman from New Jersey, was quoted as saying: "Why don't we send our soldiers into Greece and clean up the guerrillas?" He was also quoted as saying that "we might save ourselves some money" if American troops accompanied dollars to Greece, and that "sooner or later we're going to have to do something there."

It didn't make me feel any better to learn from the same story that the administration spokesman to whom these remarks were directed evaded giving a straight answer, and that after the hearing Eaton told reporters "his question was not meant to be an outright recommendation that American troops take the field against the guerrillas. He contended, however, that it was a question that should undergo debate, and that he had posed it for that reason."

Running to the nearest **Who's Who,** I soon found my worst suspicions confirmed. Eaton, it disclosed, was born Mar. 29, 1868 — less than three years after the end of the Civil War. During the Spanish-American War, when he was 30, he didn't get a taste of that well-known character-building Army life because he was employed as a Baptist minister. When the First World War came, he was 49 and still earning his keep by preaching. Some ministers went into the Army as chaplains, but Eaton did his bit in New York as head of the national service section of the U. S. Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation from Nov. 1917-1919. This experience must have broadened his horizons because he gave up preaching and became head of the "industrial relations department" of National Lamp Works, General Electric, and describes himself in **Who's Who** as an "expert in industrial relations," among other things. In 1925 he was rewarded with a seat in Congress, was present at the age of 73 to vote "aye" on U. S. entry into the Second World War, and today, on the eve of his 83rd birthday, hopes to be around to do the same on World War III.

I respect old age as much as the next man and I don't want to pit one age group against another, but it seems to me incidents of this kind ought to infuriate other young men as much as it does me. Potential fellow-draftees! I say that sooner or later we're going to have to do something **here** so that we won't have to "save ourselves some money" by a trip to Greece. Unfortunately, I have not yet worked out a suitable plan. At first I thought of forming a League to Counteract Belligerent Dotards, except that Attorney General Clark would quickly stick it on his "subversive" list. Does anybody else have a plan?

And please don't tell me that young capitalist politicians also preach war and follow policies designed to bring it about — I know it as well as you do. But with them I at least have the small satisfaction of hoping a few may not be able to escape the draft and a taste of their own medicine. While the worst that can happen to the Eatons, if they live long enough to see what they so fervently desire, is a quick end from an atomic bomb. And I say that's too good for them.

Teachers with "Conviction"

By Ruth Johnson

College teachers aren't what they ought to be, according to a man who should know — Dr. Harry J. Carman, dean of Columbia College. Addressing a forum of 300 educators on Feb. 17, he explained that most teachers don't know how to teach, are dull and uninspiring, and "suffer from mental inertia."

All of these charges will be confirmed heartily by hundreds of thousands of students who struggle to keep awake during dull and fruitless lectures. But they won't learn from Carman just why they find the faculty seats full of incompetents, or what can be done to improve the situation.

We can find the answer though, in the qualifications that Carman lists: "integrity and responsibility," and "breadth of training, a sound foundation of general education and an understanding of society as a whole." Carman especially emphasized that to be a good professor a man must have "conviction." That is, "he should be one who, without recourse to propaganda, can stimulate the student to formulate for himself an intelligent and satisfying philosophy of life."

But how can a man or woman who answers these needs continue to teach in the face of the national witch-hunts? The red-baiting hysteria on the campuses has already picked off a mildly reformist leader of the Socialist Party in Michigan, and six professors in Seattle suspected of being friendly to Stalinism. Several states are preparing laws to deprive any suspected radical of the right to teach in public universities. The capitalists want teachers with only one "conviction" — the conviction that "free enterprise" is the holy of holies.

That can't be reconciled with Carman's requirement of "an understanding of society as a whole." No one can understand society today without a study of Marxism, the science of political economy. To try to explain economics or politics with-Marxism is like trying to explain atomic energy without nuclear physics.

Nor can a teacher stimulate "an intelligent and satisfying philosophy of life," without exposing the ruthless practices of capitalism that make cynics and opportunists of all its adherents.

The sharp sword of dismissal hovers over any professor who dares to point out the nature of capitalism and the need for a new economic order based on the needs of mankind. The school system from grade school to university, is based not on the welfare of students, but on the aims sought by the ruling class. Text books are written, lectures tailored and policy determined with one idea only: to glorify and preserve imperialism and justify World War III.

The only "men of conviction" welcomed in this world of Wall Street academics, are men with the "conviction" that their future depends on being intellectual yes-men of capitalism.

A Lesson in Democracy

By Fred Hart

How are the laws of this country made, anyway? Every school child is taught that our laws are exclusively the product of the democratic process. Whenever the majority of the people decides in favor of a particular law, the matter is settled. At least, this is what the school books say.

Well, the people of Oregon have just received a different lesson in law-making. At the last election, the majority of the Oregon voters cast their ballots in favor of old age pensions, securing $50 a month to every man over 65 and every woman over 60. This meager sum was to be paid by the state.

The sponsors of this measure apparently obtained some excellent legal advice. Here is how **Newsweek,** Feb. 21, reports some of the clauses of this pension law:

"The drafters had tried to make it airtight: Apparently, it provided that any conflict with the (state) constitution was null, it forbade future amendments by the legislature, and it outlawed judicial review by the courts. Finally, it provided that any state funds, whether previously earmarked by law or not, could be dipped into to pay the pensions."

But although the people voted for all this, there will be no old age pensions paid in Oregon. Why not? Because of a "ruling" made by Attorney General George Neuner. Placing himself above the constitution and above the courts, this gentleman "ruled the pension measure to be 'incomplete, inoperative, and not self-executing.' Labelling it merely a 'statement of policy' he said it had no effect unless the legislature acted." The legislature, of course, refused to act.

From where did this individual derive his powers to flout the will of the majority? The office of Attorney General does not even delegate authority to review laws (which is the function of the courts) but only to enforce them.

For his part, George ("I am the law") Neuner has merely taken his cue from the U. S. Attorney General, Tom Clark. On a national scale this lawyer has been doing much the same thing as was done by his colleague in Oregon. Clark has just "ruled" that the office of the President has "inherent powers." The same Clark had previously "ruled" that a whole number of organizations and minority parties (among them the Socialist Workers Party) were "subversive." If Clark could do this, why couldn't Neuner rule null and void a pension law?

Apparently it is the Attorney Generals — federal and state — who have decided that they have the power to make and unmake laws at will. What we have here are multiplying instances of individuals who claim the right to act as do fascist rulers and other dictators, namely, to proclaim themselves to be the law.

Notes from the News

DANGER SIGNALS — The members of Congress are talking about a "compromise" deal between Northern and Southern Democrats which would scrap all the civil rights bills except anti-lynching legislation and repeal about "one-fourth" of the Taft-Hartley Act.

* * *

THAT'S DIFFERENT — Dr. Ralph Spitzer has been fired from Oregon State University because he supports the Lysenko theory of genetics, Oregon State President Strand announced. (In the Soviet Union teachers are fired for opposing this theory.) Strand indignantly denied that Spitzer and another professor were purged because they belong to the Progressive Party.

* * *

LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED — Negro workers are already "in the midst of a depression," Urban League Director Lester A. Granger concludes after studying reports of layoffs in key industrial cities. One out of every 4 Negro workers in Omaha is jobless and 71% of those on relief in Detroit are Negroes.

* * *

SWEAR OR STAY OUT! — Following in the footsteps of Oklahoma, the Arkansas Legislature now has before it a bill requiring students and teachers in state-supported schools to sign affidavits that they do not belong to the Communist or Progressive Parties. Those who failed to sign would be barred and those who signed falsely would be subject to $500 fine and 10 days in jail. The Hearst press advocates that every state should adopt such a law. And where does the New Leader stand?

* * *

REWARD FOR SPIES — A bill is being rushed through Congress to admit 100 aliens to this country each year as a reward for their espionage activity on behalf of the U. S. It would waive the ban on persons who are or have been Communists, and on those having certain diseases.

* * *

ANNIVERSARY — Fritz Kuhn, head of the German-American Bund, was freed by a German court on Jan. 22, ten years and two days after the famous SWP-led demonstration of 50,000 anti-fascists against the Bund's provocative Madison Square Garden meeting in New York.

* * *

IT CAN HAPPEN HERE TOO — Maryland State Senate last week passed the Ober bill, which provides 20 years in jail and $20,000 in fines for anyone found to be a member of an organization designated as "subversive" by a special attorney general. The vote was unanimous.

Lay-offs Are Chief Topic of Discussion in Plants Today

By Milton Alvin

TOLEDO — The icy blasts of unemployment are blowing through this industrial area. Thousands of workers have been laid off since the first of the year. It is reported that about 8,000 workers are unemployed at the present time and that less than 400 jobs are available through the U. S. Employment Service.

Auto plants and parts factories have curtailed production drastically. The large Willys-Overland plant is reported to have laid off about 1500 men and women. Spicer has been cut down from an estimated 4,000 workers to around 2,000 in the last 6 months. Second and third shifts have been eliminated in many plants. Smaller factories have reduced operations proportionately.

Among the workers in the shops there is only one topic of conversation—the lay-offs. Groups of workers are seen anxiously looking at the seniority lists on the department bulletin boards, each man trying to figure out how he stands and how long it will be before he gets the axe. Men are heard to express themselves very strongly on what they will do if they are laid off. They do not at all expect to get along on the $21 a week unemployment compensation.

Some are describing the plight of their friends who were laid off only a few weeks ago as already desperate. It is clear that the average worker has no reserve to fall back upon, in fact, many are heavily in debt for the things they have bought that were in short supply for so long.

Among the hardest hit are the young veterans who have little seniority. Many of them came back from the war three years ago, married and now have a family. They sought to make up for the time lost away from home on account of the war. Thousands of them now have heavy responsibilities and large debts with no savings to tide them over. They are extremely bitter over the turn events have taken. The three-year post-war boom was not nearly long enough to give them a chance to acquire what they want, a home, a car, home electrical appliances and so on.

The older workers talk about the depression of the 1930's which is vivid in their memories. They are determined to see to it that those terrible times are not visited upon them again.

Many workers think the wave of lay-offs is due to a plot on the part of the corporations to weaken the bargaining position of the unions in negotiations for the "fourth round" of wage increases. Others believe the corporations are trying to throw a scare into Congress in an effort to retain the Taft-Hartley Act.

However, the fundamental reason — that American capitalism has just about satisfied the pent-up demand for products which were scarce during the war years and that in many lines the market has become glutted — is easy to explain and gets a good reception. Some workers are talking about England and the possibilities of government ownership of industry in America. These workers, as a rule, and despite the propaganda of the press and radio, look favorably upon the idea of government ownership.

And they are not overly concerned with the question of how the government takes over. They certainly do not care a hoot whether the rich parasites get paid for the plants or not. What they want is steady employment and a chance to support their families.

If this first reaction to the wave of lay-offs is any indication of the moods of the workers, it can be taken for granted that the working class will answer the problems raised by the new situation more militantly and with more deep-going, radical demands than have ever been seen on a mass scale in America.

The icy unemployment gale can quickly change into a fresh wind of revolutionary clarity blowing away the smoke screen of the free enterprise propaganda and revealing how rotten and decrepit is the real state of capitalism.

Striking Drivers Walk

This was one of the many picketlines which greeted Philadelphia after the CIO Transport Workers Union was forced to call a strike against the Philadelphia Transportation's Company's meager offer of a 3c hourly wage raise. See the story below to learn how the strike ended in an unsatisfactory settlement after nine days, during which other Philadelphia workers refused to be incited against the strikers.

Phila. Settlement Unpopular With Transit Strikers

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 20 — The nine day strike by 11,000 members of Local 234 of the Transport Workers Union against the Philadelphia Transportation Company was ended today. It required two tumultuous meetings over the weekend, before TWU President Michael Quill and Local 234 President Andrew Kaelin could steamroller acceptance by the strikers of the company offer of an eight cent wage boost and unchanged working conditions.

The local executive board, when it was informed of the company offer, voted 23-9 to reject it. At the first membership meeting, hurriedly called by Quill and Kaelin at 10:30 Saturday night, the membership vociferously rejected the proposals that Quill and Kaelin attempted to sell them.

Many took the floor to denounce the company and the international officers, proclaiming their determination to stay out until they achieved a guaranteed work week, elimination of the split-time (where a worker to earn 8 hours' pay has to report to work several times during the day), and guaranteed maintenance of the two-man crew on street cars. When a vote was called for, over two-thirds voted against the settlement. At that Quill and his cohorts "recessed" the meeting to the following afternoon.

STEAMROLLER STEPS

At this meeting the Quill forces maintained rigid control (under the protection of the Philadelphia Police Labor Squad). Kaelin, backed by Quill, called for a "secret ballot" on the settlement. Only one opposition speaker, Robert High, local vice-president, was allowed to speak, briefly. Then Quill took the floor and contemptuously accused the opposition of being composed only of job seekers and candidates for local office. After calling for an aye vote on the secret ballot, he called upon the disgruntled would-be candidates to take the floor and be counted.

Confused and leaderless, the opposition was broken. In rapid fire succession Quill declared the vote to favor the secret ballot, to end the strike, to go back to work, and finally to get the trolleys running in a few hours.

Unprecedented locally and perhaps nationally, the entire proceedings of both meetings were broadcasted on the radio. This was indicative of the interest with which this strike was regarded. Despite the long tieup and inconvenience suffered, the working class of Philadelphia throughout the strike period refused to be stampeded by the press and city government into showing hostility to the strike.

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Good Start for Weiss Campaign in Los Angeles

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 20 — Myra Tanner Weiss' campaign for Mayor is already rolling smoothly, although elections are still six weeks away. The city clerk's office announced last week that she had qualified for the ballot.

Running as the Socialist Workers Party candidate, she is basing her appeal to voters squarely upon the fact that revolutionary socialism is the only solution to the multiple evils which confront us, evils which are bred and perpetuated by the hypocritical lying, dog-eat-dog morality of modern capitalist society.

She is raising high the alternative perspective of a decent society of peace and plenty and equality for all, a goal that can be achieved only through socialism.

This week Comrade Weiss replied to a number of questionnaires sent to her by various organizations who regularly poll candidates for city offices, including the League of Women Voters, Government Research, Inc., and the Property Owners Association of California.

VIGOROUS REPLIES

Last week she replied to a query from the **Los Angeles Sentinel,** largest Negro newspaper in the west, asserting without reservation that she would work tirelessly for an effective fair employment practice bill (FEPC) for the city and for a strict policy of non-discrimination in slum-clearance projects.

Asked how she would deal with the high cost of the city's government, the SWP candidate advocated elimination of the notorious Metropolitan squad, the Police Department's strikebreaking detail; the disbanding of the wasteful anti-democratic loyalty oath board and procedures; and the scrapping of all other agencies and officials whose principal function is to hound workers and frighten them into compliance with the wage-slashing policies of the Associated Farmers and the NAM.

OTHER CANDIDATES

Outlining her special qualifications for the office of Mayor to the Property Owners Association, she stated: "As a revolutionary socialist opponent of Big Business rule in Los Angeles, I am qualified to help the working people of Los Angeles—the vast majority of the population—substitute their own control of their city for control by privileged Big Business interests."

Myra Tanner Weiss is one of nine candidates seeking the office of Mayor. Her opponents are the usual run of so-called liberals, outright reactionaries, and the customary spice of flamboyant screwballs.

Among the reactionaries are the incumbent, Fletcher Bowron, who not once during his 12 years in office has sponsored a single measure calculated to improve the lot of workers and minority groups.

Another is the much publicized Jack B. Tenney, whose chief claims to "fame" are his persecution of militants through his position on California's own "Un-American" committee, and his introduction in the State Assembly of numerous measures to harbor ideas which the merchants and manufacturers consider "dangerous"—dangerous, that is, to their continued gouging of the people.

Comrade Weiss' election platform will be off the press this week, and she will immediately launch a strenuous speaking tour of meetings of unions and minority groups.

MYRA TANNER WEISS

Filomena Goelman Leads Fight for FEPC in Oakland

.....OAKLAND — Filomena Goelman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the City Council, made the front page of the local press in her attack on so-called "progressive" councilmen who helped the Council to remove a city FEPC from the ballot in the coming elections.

Councilmen Vernon Lantz and Scott Weakley had called a rally to report on their record in the city government. But they looked sick when Mrs. Goelman rose and took them to task for their betrayal on the FEPC issue.

"You seem to forget, "Councilmen," she continued, "that you are in office only by grace of the labor movement and the Negro people of Oakland, and for no other reason. You were elected after the Oakland general strike, when the working people were enraged at the strikebreaking incumbents and cleaned them out of office. You councilmen were then voted into office and given a chance. If you were sincerely interested in getting the FEPC ordinance passed, you would have considered it your duty to go to the labor and Negro movements and organize meetings to put pressure on the councilmen who were opposed to FEPC."

Filomena Goelman's campaign has brought the FEPC issue to the fore again. She is urging the labor and Negro organization "to make every candidate for the Council take a public stand on the issue. By putting pressure on them now, we can be more certain of a favorable majority in the new council. **United labor and Negro action is needed now so that in the coming months, job discrimination, and not the FEPC, will be defeated in Oakland."**

REAL ISSUES EVADED AT UAW ECONOMIC PARLEY

DETROIT, Feb. 20 — The UAW economic conference, held here yesterday, consisted of about 230 delegates, 75 of whom were International Board members or their appointed representatives. Others were top bargaining committees of Chrysler, Ford, GM, Hudson, Packard, Studebaker and Nash, represented by local union presidents. Some 50 local unions presidents from other plants were selected by regional directors.

UAW President Walter Reuther presented the economic demands as:

1. A pension plan paying $100 a month to workers 65 years old, with 25 years' seniority, to be paid in full by the corporations.
2. Free medical aid and hospitalization, to be paid by the corporations, and an insurance plan.
3. A wage increase, based on BLS figures at the time of contract signing and to equal the June 1946 base. No definite figures were given.

30-HOUR WEEK HIT

Reuther referred to the demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay as the program of the Communist and Daily Worker. Terming it as a plot to cut American production to the advantage of the Soviet Union, he said that such demands were being put forward to divide the workers and that the people advocating this program were not to be considered loyal union members.

Reuther's program was accepted without a dissenting vote, although 15% of those present did not vote.

Secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey presented the discredited one-at-a-time strategy as the procedure to be followed in seeking pensions, etc. He also said an 8 to 10 million dollar strike fund was needed and should be raised by assessments levied at the UAW Milwaukee convention next spring.

When Fleetwood Local 15 President J. Anderson raised the problem of the two-year contract saddled on the GM workers, he was told that the pattern this year would be set at Ford, and that public opinion would make the other corporations follow it. This procedure was accepted with only two dissenting votes, cast by Anderson and a Buffalo Bell local delegate.

Vice President Jack Livingstone made a vicious attack on all who disagreed with the CIO method of merging the Farm Equipment workers with the UAW. He ended with a veiled threat to expel those who failed to follow this line.

Today a GM conference was held, with approximately 65 in attendance, including 10 or 15 international representatives.

Here the same one-at-a-time strategy was put forward. Anderson was ruled out of order when he tried to discuss the need for a real representative national conference of the GM locals, and told to rent a hall of his own if he wanted to expound ideas. The conference was told that only questions could be asked and that it had no power to legislate. With almost no discussion from the floor, the meeting was adjourned.